

Message Text

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42

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
----- 070167

P R 081902Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8625
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16222

EXDIS

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL; DEPT PASS
USINT CAIRO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, GW, US, XF, NATO
SUBJECT: EC CONSULTATIONS ON MID-EAST

REF: A) BRUSSELS 6275; B) BONN 16145; C) BRUSSELS
6310

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH
EMBOFF AT NOVEMBER 7 SOVIET ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION,
SENIOR FRG FONOFF OFFICIALS SAID "PRO-ARABIC" EC MID-
EAST DECLARATION (REF A) AND BLAND EC ANNOUNCEMENT ON
SECRET

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EC COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF OIL ISSUE WERE DESIGNED TO
GUARANTEE THAT ARABS WOULD LOOK THE OTHER WAY RE UNPUB-
LICIZED EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO ASSURE OIL SUPPLIES
FOR ALL EC MEMBER STATES. OUR GERMAN SOURCES SAY THE
ARABS, INCLUDING LIBYA, ALREADY HAVE REACTED POSITIVELY.
THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IN BONN HAS PROTESTED THE EVOLV-
ING GERMAN POSITION ON THE MID-EAST, BUT THE FRG
BELIEVES GERMAN AND EUROPEAN POPULAR PRO-ISRAELI SENTI-

MENT WILL SHIFT AS WINTER APPROACHES. IN STRESSING STRONGLY-FELT EC NEED TO REACH COMMON POSITION IN MID-EAST, OUR SOURCES SAID THE COUNCIL AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS ALSO WERE PERVADED BY GREAT BITTERNESS REGARDING THE LACK OF US CONSULTATION ON MID-EAST CRISIS AND AMERICAN DEMAND FOR "BLANK CHECK", WITH POSSIBLE PREJUDICE TO DIVERGENT EUROPEAN INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

2. SENIOR FRG FONOFF OFFICIALS TOOK EMBOFF ASIDE SEPARATELY AT NOVEMBER 7 SOVIET ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION IN BONN TO PROVIDE SOME FURTHER DETAILS ON THIS WEEK'S EC COUNCIL AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS OF MID-EAST ISSUES IN BRUSSELS. OUR SOURCES ALSO EMPHASIZED THE "VERY TENSE AND STRAINED ATMOSPHERE" IN THE MEETINGS DURING DISCUSSION OF US APPROACH TO EUROPEAN ALLIES DURING THE MID-EAST CRISIS.

3. THE GERMAN ACCOUNT OF THE EC MID-EAST DECLARATION GENERALLY CONFIRMED AND ADDED TO ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ALON'S COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR STRAUZ-HUPE (REF C), ALTHOUGH THE INTERPRETATION WAS, OF COURSE, DIFFERENT FROM THE ISRAELI ONE. OUR SOURCE SAID THERE WAS UNDERSTANDING AROUND THE TABLE THAT THE RESOLUTION SHOULD BE PRESENTED AND INTERPRETED COMMONLY BY ALL EC MEMBER STATES AS AN EVEN-HANDED AND BALANCED APPROACH VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL AND THE ARABS. BUT THERE ALSO WAS A FURTHER SURFACE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MID-EAST DECLARATION SHOULD "AT LEAST LEAN TOWARD THE ARAB POSITION". SECRET

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TION" IN VIEW OF ARAB THREATS TO CUT OFF OIL AND WHAT MANY EC MEMBER STATES CONSIDER TO BE INFLEXIBLE ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC TACTICS SINCE THE 1967 WAR.

4. AS A RESULT, THE EC-9 CAME UP WITH WHAT MANY OF OUR SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGE IS A PRO-ARABIC MID-EAST RESOLUTION (REF A). IN ADDITION, A BLAND STATEMENT WAS ISSUED CONCERNING OSTENSIBLE DESULTORY EC COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF THE ENERGY ISSUE. IN FACT, HOWEVER, AS ALON INDICATED, OUR SOURCES SAY AN UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED AMONG THE NINE THAT THE DUTCH REQUIREMENTS FOR OIL WOULD BE TAKEN CARE OF BY OTHER EC MEMBER STATES. THIS UNDERSTANDING, WHICH IS CLEARLY BOTH TEMPORARY AND FRAGILE AS WELL AS DEPENDENT ON UPCOMING EVENTS IN THE MID-EAST CRISIS, WAS APPARENTLY NOT DEVELOPED INTO A DETAILED SCENARIO AS TO HOW THE INTER-

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED USINT CAIRO.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W

----- 070249

P R 081902Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8626

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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EXDIS

ESTS OF HOLLAND OR OTHER THREATENED EC MEMBER STATES WOULD BE PROTECTED. THE IDEA WOULD BE TO HANDLE THIS PROBLEM, AS NECESSARY, "UNDER THE TABLE". THE EC STATES WOULD NOT MAKE PUBLIC THIS UNDERSTANDING BUT WOULD INSTEAD HIDE BEHIND THE BLAND DECLARATION. THE FRAGILE CHARACTER OF THE AGREEMENT WAS MANIFEST IN SCHEEL'S PUBLIC STATEMENT AFTER THE BRUSSELS MEETING THAT MORE DURABLE EC ARRANGEMENTS ON ENERGY HAD TO BE REACHED.

5. OUR SOURCES SAID THE EC TACTIC WAS, THEREFORE, TO TAKE A MODERATELY PRO-ARABIC POSTURE IN THE MID-EAST DECLARATION AND HOPE THAT THE ARABS WOULD THEREAFTER LOOK THE OTHER WAY RE INFORMAL CLANDESTINOPERATIONS DESIGNED TO TAKE CARE OF THE INTERESTS OF AFFECTED EC MEMBER STATES. OUR SOURCES SAY OPPOSITION TO THIS APPROACH TENDED TO BREAK DOWN AFTER THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ISSUED A DECLARATION WHICH WENT SECRET

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"AT LEAST AS FAR AS WE WENT" IN ACCOMMODATING ARAB DEMANDS.

6. IT IS THE GERMAN VIEW THAT, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, THE EC TACTIC HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN ASSUAGING THE ARABS. SEVERAL ARAB AMBASSADORS IN BONN AND OTHER EC

CAPITALS HAD MADE CLEAR THEIR PLEASURE WITH THE MID-EAST DECLARATION AND HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT THEY HAD NO WISH "TO INTERFERE WITH THE COMMUNITY". CAIRO WAS APPARENTLY SO PLEASED THAT IT INTERVENED WITH QADHAFI, ASKING THE LIBYAN LEADER TO WITHDRAW HIS THREATS OF EMBARGO VIS-A-VIS THE FRG. OUR SOURCES SAY THE LIBYANS ACQUIESCED FOR THE PRESENT AT THIS EGYPTIAN REQUEST.

7. OUR SOURCES DID OFFER AN INTERESTING INTERPRETATION OF THE ASPECT OF THE MID-EAST DECLARATION DEALING WITH THE PALESTINIANS. THEY NOTED THAT REFERENCE TO "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS" IN PARA 3 (IV) OF THE DECLARATION COULD BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN INDIVIDUAL PALESTINIANS RATHER THAN THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE OR AS A NATION.

8. THE SENIOR GERMAN OFFICIALS TOLD EMBOFF THEY WERE SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE BRUSSELS MEETINGS BUT HAD NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE "JERRY-MADE ARRANGEMENTS OF BRUSSELS" CAN SURVIVE FOR VERY LONG. THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THEIR VIEW WILL BE THE SUCCESS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MID-EAST. IF ARAB/ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE INITIATED AND THE CEASEFIRE DOES NOT HOLD, EVERYTHING WILL BE UP FOR GRABS AND IT PROBABLY WILL BE A COLD WINTER AHEAD.

9. MEANWHILE, THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN BONN IS MAKING CLEAR ITS DEEP DISTRESS OVER THE GERMAN POSITION ON THE MID-EAST. ISRAELI AMBASSADOR BEN HORIN CALLED ON SECRETARY FRANK EARLY THIS WEEK TO PROTEST TELEVISION REMARKS BY FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL ACKNOWLEDGING BONN'S "SPECIAL RELATIONS" WITH ISRAEL, BUT ADDING THAT THE FRG "ALSO HAS SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD". ONE OF OUR SOURCES, A VERY CLOSE INTIMATE OF SCHEEL, SAID THE MINISTER'S ANSWER ON TV HAD BEEN CONFUSED

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AND UNFORTUNATE BUT THE ISRAELIS DID NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND FULLY THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY AND EUROPE WAS SHIFTING AGAINST THEM. OUR SOURCE SAID GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION STILL STRONGLY FAVORED ISRAEL AS OPPOSED TO THE ARABS, BUT THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS THAT FEARS OF AN OIL SHORTAGE AND A COLD WINTER WILL LEAD TO CHANGES IN GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION IN THE COMING MONTHS AS THE TEMPERATURE DECLINES. OUR SOURCE SAID THIS FEELING WAS VERY LIVE AMONG EC MINISTERS AND POLITICAL DIRECTORS THIS WEEK IN BRUSSELS.

10. IN EXPLAINING THE EC MID-EAST DECLARATION, OUR SOURCES WERE AT PAINS TO CLAIM THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN EXERTING

"THE NECESSARY STIMULATIVE PRESSURE ON ISRAEL
TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE".
HILLENBRAND

NOTE BY OC/T:

SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: mcintyresh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN16222
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750023-1549
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731166/abqceegz.tel
Line Count: 224
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN BONN
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: A) BRUSSELS 6275; B) BONN 16145; C) BRUSSELS 6310
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: mcintyresh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <06-Aug-2001 by mcintyresh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EC CONSULTATIONS ON MID-EAST
TAGS: PFOR, US, GE, XF, BE, NATO
To: STATE INFO LONDON
PARIS
ROME
VIENNA
JIDDA
TEL AVIV
TEHRAN

GENEVA
NATO BRUSSELS
SALT TWO GENEVA

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005